

T H E
C O N T E S T.

Being an ACCOUNT of the
MATTER in DISPUTE
BETWEEN THE
MAGISTRATES
A N D
BURGESSES,
And an EXAMINATION of the
MERIT and CONDUCT
OF THE
CANDIDATES
In the present
ELECTION.
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T O
MATTHEW RIDLEY, Esq.

S I R,

*Conscious of your Capacity in judging,
this Book is presented for your per-
usal, by*

The AUTHOR.

C O N T E N T S.

- Chap. I. The popular opinion concerning popularity.
II. What is popularity?
III. The inquisitive.
IV. Ingratitude is worse than witchcraft.
V. We should not rob Peter to pay Paul.
VI. A dissertation on parties.
VII. A Whig.
VIII. A Tory.
IX. Knowing the principles of those parties.
X. Proves four things.
XI. Turns back.
XII. Mr Ridley.
XIII. His son's abilities.
XIV. The Burgeses Party.
XV. Mr Carr.
XVI. Sir Walter Blackett's popularity.
XVII. Sir Walter and Mr Ridley.
XVIII. The Town-Moor.
XIX. A Tale.
XX. What says Mr Saint?
XXI. Truth conquers all things.
XXII. Every man thinks his own geese swans.
XXIII. Comparisons are odious.
XXIV. All's well that ends well.
XXV. The last and longest of all.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. I.

The Popular Opinion of Popularity:

POPULARITY—popularity is like rain; it sometimes comes rushing from the mountains in a torrent that sweeps all before it, and does a deal of mischief; at others, in refreshing showers, and is the spring of every thing that is good.

Popularity—popularity is like a lady's honour; gained by a long time of good conduct, and—lost in a moment.

Popularity—popularity is like money; hard to get, and easy spent.

Popularity is like money in another respect, it is wished for by many, and obtained by few.

Popularity is like gentility, and a noble line of ancestry; valued by those who have it, and slighted by those who have it not.

Popularity is like every thing else, when it is at the best, it grows worse; and lest this chapter should do so, let us make an end of it, by asking in

C H A P. II.

What is POPULARITY?

IT is the good opinion which many have of a few.
What is it which makes the many have a good opinion

nion of the few? but—A self-interested supposition, that the few are acting for their benefit.

But the opinion of the many may be like the opinion of one; erroneous. Granted; 'tis then like a torrent, and does mischief.

What is it when that opinion is right founded? Popularity. What is it when it is wrong founded? Popularity still.

A man many gain it by acting right, and lose it by acting wrong: And lose it by acting right, and gain it by acting wrong.

And of the variableness of this right-wrong-fort-of-stuff, there need not be a stronger instance than in the case of Sir Walter Blackett and the Burgesses of Newcastle.

View the baronet some years since, healthy and vigorous,—the opposer of the court, the favourite and familiar of the freemen, and a generous donor to the poor; on these qualifications did he rest his claim to represent the town in the senate; view him crowned with success, and the majority of the freemen striving to excel each other in wreathing laurels to garnish his brow; and, not an enemy—who was even hardy enough to attempt to wrench off a leaf.

Turn the picture——View him now a favourite at court; attending the levee with the liliputian hat and high-heeled shoes; noticed by the king, and bowed to by the minister.

View him obeyed by the magistrates; and supported by their influence beyond conception.—View him still a friend to the poor, yet contemned by the majority: In the decline of life, * on the verge of eternity, yet harrassed with the doubts and uncertainty which always attend worldly ambition.

View him but the solitary possessor of an immense fortune, torn in pieces at his death, and going to the *Lord knows who*, without a relation or friend near enough to drop a tear on his grave; and the paralytical head of a tottering party, whose strength and interest expires with his life; and in it, scarce an individual that has abilities enow to form a division in hon-

* He is now seventy.

honour of his memory ; much less keep it together, and head it against its opponents : in short—view him unpopular.

CH A P. III.

The I N Q U I S I T I V E

WILL naturally ask, who is to blame ; the baronet or burgessees ? Let us canvas this question as we ought ; like philosophers—as if we wanted to square our thoughts and actions to truth : Not twist truth to our wishes—let not our judgment be founded not on the opinion of others, but on facts—if we agree in them, our own ideas must guide us in their inference ; we may differ in them, but it is then only a difference of opinion ; but in the others, a breach of moral certainty—our business then will be to obtain facts ; and after we have obtained them, deduce what inferences from them we please.

It will now be naturally asked, whether Sir Walter has changed his conduct or principles ? truth answers, no ; for he has acted consistently from first to last.

The inference drawn from this fact is, that the burgessees have changed their conduct, and Sir Walter has done nothing to deserve the loss of his popularity,—it certainly is so.

But the man who means to judge justly, must not only obtain truth, but the **W H O L E** truth too ; and a man of penetration instantly perceives a fact rises out of this inference which ought to be considered, it is, that it is possible, that Sir Walter **N E V E R** deserved the popularity he once once had.

The inference drawn from this is, that the burgessees were to blame in giving it him ; this is granted.—but they are not to blame in taking it away—this must be granted also,

Let us now ask on what the baronet's popularity was formerly founded ? And whether, he obtained it as a compliment paid to his character as a private gentleman, or a public senator ?

If

If it was paid him in compliment to his donations to the poor, or liberal beneficence to particular individuals; his popularity was that which is due to every private gentleman of the same benevolent disposition, and is alone its own reward; to suppose it deserved or expected any other advantage, would be giving Sir Walter an unequitable preference, and robbing the rest of mankind of their due; or worse,—resolving such beneficence entirely into bribery and self-interest.

It may be said, a man who gives a pound to a good purpose, has more claim on popularity, than he who gives a penny; granted,—provided that the givers are of equal ability; not else. For the popularity is the due of the giver, not of the gift; and from what has been said, it appears, that men of Sir Walter's disposition, (and among them I class himself) have certainly a right to, and may justly claim the popularity due to a private gentleman; this is granted; but it as certainly follows, that such beneficence can claim no more.

C H A P. IV.

INGRATITUDE *is worse than* WITCH-CRAFT.

YET gratitude is in many cases nothing else but witchcraft—if a man has a favour bestowed on him, he imagines the public is obliged, and he then talks of gratitude. Ah! me, this is witchcraft with a witness! where vanity rides error through the hearts of mortals, upon the broom-staff of self-interest.

Ingratitude is still worse than witchcraft; and they are no conjurors who deny it. I wish the one was as rare in the world as the other, we should be all less in debt than we are; we ought, however, all to be grateful; and, that we should be justly so, shall prove by observing in

CHAP. V.

We should not rob Peter to pay Paul.

IT is taken generally for granted, that if persons, or friends of persons, are obliged by such donations as we have been speaking of; or by the interest of such donor, they are bound in gratitude to exert every thing in their power to return such obligation,—this is true.

But it must be observed, that every individual of society has two interests,—his own, and that of the society in general to which he belongs; one interest he may sport with as he pleases,—the other he ought not. The society or public has no more right to be grateful for private favours, than the state purse has to pay private debts.

If private benevolence has befriended private persons, private persons should repay private beneficence with private service,—not by drawing on the public stock. But should the public be favoured by the exertions of a private man's abilities or interest, then it becomes a public debt, and the public ought to pay it.

It therefore follows, if Sir Walter has obliged only private individuals, he has only a right to the service of those individuals as it regards themselves, not to their interest which concern the public. But, if on the other side, Sir Walter has obliged and been a benefactor to the public, he then has a right to the public service, not only of his personal friends and indifferents, but even of his personal enemies, or those he had disobliged; otherwise they refuse to pay their equitable quota of the public debt: for, if a man had a vote to give, and should say, “Sir Walter is by far the ablest senator, and has been, and is likely to be the best friend to the public? Yet, because he did not give my friend the place, nor me his interest when de-
fired, I will not give him my vote,”—this man is a rascal to the public, whatever he be to himself,—this is self evident; and it is also as evident, that, he who would give Sir Walter a vote, and thought Mr Phipps the ablest senator and best friend to the public, merely,
be-

because Sir Walter had given his friend the place, or himself his interest—is likewise a rascal too.

We now must enquire whether Sir Walter's beneficence has consisted in private acts, or public good: If in the first, he has no claim on the public, if in the latter, he has.

The writers on his behalf do not seem forward in discussing, either his political creed, or public conduct, but offer indubitable proofs of his private generosity. Their opponents grant him the last, and deny him the two first; and say, he has always been neutral, where he should not have been; done that, which he should not have done in his parliamentary duty, as it regards the kingdom in general: but what is more extraordinary, he has not even done any public good to the town he represents, either in his representative or magisterial capacity, though the whole revenue of it (which sometimes amounts to * 18,000*l.* per ann.) has been under his direction and influence for above thirty years.

These charges, if true, are weighty, and cannot be extenuated, but by proving them groundless; and that cannot be done, but by appealing to facts, to wipe away the stigma: which the baronet's friends have not yet thought proper to do.

It may now be properly asked what Sir Walter's popularity originally arose from? to do this, we must appeal to former facts, and by stating them to the best of our judgment, reason from them accordingly.

About the year 1741, Mr Blackett, (now Sir Walter) and Mr Nicholas Fenwick, were joint candidates, in opposition to Mr William Carr and the present Mr Ridley.—The first were in the Tory, or country interest, the others were of the court, or Whig party.—this naturally makes

C H A P.

* October 3, 1774, on casting up the corporation accounts for one year, it stood as follows:

Received	_____	_____	_____	20,360 9 8
Paid	_____	_____	_____	19,445 0 0
Balance in the Hatch	_____	_____	_____	905 9 8

A stranger would naturally ask what it is paid for?—I would answer this question honestly if I could, but really I am not an—
alderman.

C H A P. VI.

A Dissertation upon PARTIES.

THE Whig or court party, as was then, were supposed to be staunch friends to the Brunswick line; of a republican spirit, and enemies to absolute monarchy and the Pretender: they therefore supported the ministry in most of its measures, and thought, if it was not supported, a revolution, not only of principles, but even of the reigning family, might take place; which suppositions were but too much justified by the insurrection in 1715, and the other which followed soon after in 1745.

The tory or country party, as was then, were supposed to be no great dislikers of the Stuart family, and consequently secret well-wishers to hereditary, absolute monarchy, and the pretender: they were also opposers of the corruption of the minister (Sir Robert Walpole) and the additional burdensome taxes which were then laid or wanted to be laid on, to support that corruption; among which were the general excise scheme, a scheme to the people as generally odious then, as it is now scarcely noticed, though almost double the weight to what it was when first designed.

To oppose the court, they kept up the *Down-with-rump* party in the country; by complaining of the exorbitance of the taxes, (which were partly made so only to keep their own unrulyness under) and though they railed heartily at the minister for corrupting the senators with the peoples money, they as heartily corrupted the people to become senators themselves with their own; and even were worse in this respect than the whigs, for the majority of the people were friends to that party in their hearts, though biassed by the tories in their purse.

A man who examines these parties candidly will perceive an inconsistency in both; the tories inconsistency lay, as is before observed, in railing at bribers, and yet bribing themselves; a strange way of overturning corruption by corruption, but the whigs were still more inconsistent.

They

They did not seem to think it possible for men, who after being once raised to power for opposing arbitrary men and measures, should want to become such, and act so themselves; nor did they consider that in giving such exorbitant power to the Guelph family to keep out the Stuarts, they put it in the power of the Guelphs themselves, to become Stuarts whenever they pleased. They seemed to be ignorant that a man might be made a slave on, by the presenting of a purse as well as with that of a pistol, and that public liberty might be as mortally wounded with a squeeze of the hand, as with the point of a dagger. Great standing revenues are of equal force with large standing armies, and where one country has lost its liberty by the second, two have lost it by the first.

This has always been the case and will be to eternity, excepting self-interest could be whipped out of the human breast, like a common pick-pocket out of a town at the tail of a cart; but, alas! this is impossible.

What has been said of the riches of kingdoms, are equally applicable to corporations, and even to private families——where the revenues are great, uncontrollable, and centre in few hands, then the community soon sorts itself into two classes—slaves and tyrants!

The faults of Whigs and Tories, lay in being fond of men instead of measures, and opposing the one, instead of mending the other.

Mr Fenwick was a Tory, and Sir Walter's particular friend, yet he voted about the year 1740 against septennial parliaments*, this was a Whig action, and very just to the people represented; he was but sent there for three years, and none but his constituents at large could have legally given him leave to sit four longer. Every man who gave his vote for that bill, was a traitor to his country, and a robber of his constituents: the act itself is treasonable, and the makers of it, committed the highest of high treason—a treason against the constitution. If

* How Sir Walter voted, I cannot say, but must do him that justice, to own he voted against the Spanish convention, and in all probability, also against septennial parliaments.

If such an act could be constitutionally made, it could be done no way but by the returning officers of every represented place putting the question to the voters at large, and being guided by the majority; and then, it ought not to have continued but for one seven years—posterity has a claim, which the present generation have no right to sport with.

Had the people exerted but a proper spirit, they would have elected new members at the usual time, and sent them to St. Stephen's chapel with their swords by their sides; and, if they were not strong enough to force their way in, ought to have followed themselves, and assisted. The old legislators would have cut a most despicable figure, and I think would have been glad to have quitted their seats with their lives; and Lord Mansfield himself hardly dare assert such proceeding would have either been improper or illegal.

The whigs voted for septennial parliaments and the general excise; the one gave an enormous power to the crown, and the other robbed the people of their rights. These were tory actions, and proves their inconsistency.

My reader may perceive that I define whigs and tories not as names of men, but of men's principles; and a liberal-minded Roman catholic may almost make a political one, and a rigid Calvinist make a rank tory; for he who would tyrannize over others, and he who would oppose the tyranny of others, are as complete whigs or tories in their way as I wish them to be. Whigs and tories do not consist in an opposition or attachments to any particular man or body of men, but to measures, excepting such opposition or attachment to men, leads such men to establish measures similar to the principles of those of the person they are attached to.

C H A P. VII.

A W H I G

Therefore, would have wished King William III. or the Brunswick line, the same fate as the Stuart's

family, provided they had acted, or wanted to act as the Stuarts did. He looks upon all governors and legislators but as trustees to the public, but as stewards to the public purse, as makers of laws for its good, and impartial executors of them, when made, for its safety; that if they use the trust more for their own private advantage than the good of the whole, if they embezzle the money he pays in taxes, if they make laws more favourable to themselves than to him, if they execute the laws more favourable to one than to another, or stretch them to an oppressive purpose to serve their own ends,—they should be displaced, from the prince to the parish-officer; and others chosen in their stead.

To prevent these abuses, he believes it to be his duty; not to contribute to prevent them when in his power, he believes himself to be a knave; when he dare not do it, a coward; and when he neither can nor dare, a slave.

A whig of this stamp will naturally be a firm friend to the house of Brunswick, while they act on their first principles; for on no other principles can he justify the expulsion of the Stuarts.

A whig will also be cautious of increasing the power of the crown; of laying on taxes to support the luxuries of courtiers, or furnishing ministers with money to corrupt the senators, and senators with money to corrupt the public virtue of the people, by giving them a penny at an election time, only to furnish themselves with power to make them pay a pound a year in taxes for seven years together; He will wish power to be shifted from hand to hand, that it may never be worth the while of the powerful to oppress: He will wish the useful servants of the public to be well paid, and the useless ones—not paid at all.

Such a man, and such a man only, is fit to be the representative of an Englishman in the house of commons.

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

A T O R Y

IS the reverse.—He is a man unfriendly to the liberty of the subject in temporals, and a sort of inconsistent protestant pope in spirituals; i. e. though he thinks his own set of men have a right to differ from an other in opinion, yet others have not a right to differ from them; this will naturally lead him to be unfavourable to moderate minded churchmen, dissenters, church of Scotland, quakers, &c. &c. and fond of hierachy of ambitious priests, crown priviledges, tithes in kind, &c. It will lead him to adore kings, reverence aristocracy, support the luxurious pomp of both temporal and spiritual power, and think well of inde-feazable hereditary right, and absolute monarchy.

Such opinions have always a tendency to discourage agriculture, bring commerce into contempt, and make every one servile to his superiors, and insolently tyrannical to his inferiors.

C H A P. IX.

KNOWING the principles of these parties will easily lead a man to examine which is most agreeable to reason; and that examination will, if he reflects, of course make him either whig or tory:—he cannot be neutral if he would;—facts force reflection, and reflection forces a man to judge whether he will or not.—Present interest, indeed, may make him act contrary to his reason, but his mind condemns the mean motive at once, and tells him very plainly, he is but a cowardly rascal.

What made the tories vote against septennial parliaments, and the excise bill, but a fear they would not get the men they wanted into power and trust?—had that been done, they would have voted for both;—men were their marks, not measures.

Principles do not change in themselves,—but men
and

and men's principles do. A man raised to power, by its use and advantages, naturally becomes fond of it, and is tenaciously anxious to support and increase it; though neither principles nor intention tended that way, when he first obtained it; he feels something he did not feel before, and in this manner a whig turns tory.

Vice versa—turn a tory out of power, and play his own game on him—he then feels something he did not feel before, and cannot help, if he would, from turning whig.

But it does not follow that the tory principles change because a tory changes his principles; or that the whig principles change because a whig commits a tory action.—By which

CHAP. X.

PROVES FOUR THINGS.

FIRST, That the whig and tories of those times neglected measures, and opposed and attached themselves to men—I hope my reader does not do so?

Secondly, That it is not only possible, but also very probable that the Hanoverian family, now on the throne, have turned, or may turn, tories.

Thirdly, That whenever that be the case, the **POLITICAL WHIGS** ought not to be blinded by names and persons, but examine **MEASURES** strictly, and compare them with those of Charles I. and James II. and if they find them tending to the same end, though by different means—act as the whigs then did.

Fourthly, that the whig principles are more favourable and friendly to those out of office and power than those in, because a tory in practice and principle turned out of office and the hope of one, becomes a whig in spite of his teeth, and plainly speaks that **POLITICAL WHIGISM** is most friendly to the **PEOPLE at LARGE**; and that it is **THEIR INTEREST** to have **WHIGS** only in power and trust, and when such

TRUSTED

TRUSTED persons CHANGE, the PEOPLE ought to CHANGE TOO, and put OTHERS in their places.

The reader must remember these things when he comes to examine the conduct of Sir Walter Blackett, Sir Matthew White Ridley, and Matthew Ridley, esquire.

CHAP. XI.

TURNS BACK

TO the latter end of chap. v. where the reader will find, about the year 1741, Sir Walter and Mr Fenwick were joint candidates in opposition to Mr Carr and the present Mr Ridley: the first were in the tory or country interest, the others were of the court or whig party.

Sir Walter and Mr Fenwick were returned members though not without being petitioned against by their opponents, but the contest had weakened Mr Fenwick's finances to such a degree as forced him (notwithstanding the uncommon support which his partner afforded in that respect) to take shelter in Holyrood-house: and it was supposed Mr. Ridley's was in little better condition, though death, time, and his own prudence, have pretty well repaired it. They kept their seats however, but on Mr Fenwick's declining the next general election, Mr Ridley came in without further opposition, and has enjoyed his seat ever since.

A reflection occurs here, which seems to account for Mr Ridley's now shaking hands with his opponent, and endeavouring to usher in his son Sir Matthew under the wing of his former foe.

CHAP. XII.

Mr RIDLEY

DOES not want parts, nor is he without policy; but for once he seems to have outwitted himself: either

either from the over-cautious wariness incident to old age, or from the remembrance of his quondam antagonist's superior WEIGHT of METAL, and interest which had formerly brought himself so near to the brink of destruction, that he could not think of hazarding being again in like circumstances. In short, he was so heartily drubbed by Sir Walter before (tho' he made a good battle) that he abominably dreaded the thoughts of another bruising match; therefore neither would head, nor suffer his son to head his old partizans, but deserted them and went over to his antagonist, determined to make him his friend at any rate.

He erred—he erred in considering things as they were formerly, not as they stood now—he did not consider Sir Walter was old—no longer able to gallant in as usual, nor attract the notice of the ladies with the healthy glow of an agreeable person—multitudes of his old friends dead—without issue—his estate to be divided—to persons scarce known, much less beloved in the neighbourhood—the tide of popularity turned—the cry of patriotism against him; and Grenville's act severely nipping even his old friend hospitality by the nose, and turning it out of doors, much less allowing two *Palm-Sundays** in a year; and lastly, his unaccountable concern with the Town-moor, and his still more unaccountable way of prosecuting their affair in law: and obstinately persevering in opposing the legal and reasonable desires of almost the whole body of the burgeses, with the most exaggerating circumstances that could be devised, when the bill for settling the dispute was in parliament—and all this too! just before a general election—good God! keep all mankind from suicide—for if this proves not political self-murder, I think it not possible for a man to commit it. Can

* In the contest in 1741, the sabbath before Palm Sunday, fell during the election; on the evening preceding it, Mr Ridley was before Mr Fenwick on the poll, but on the Monday, Mr Fenwick outstripped Mr Ridley an hundred votes.—On the close, when Mr Carr took leave of Sir Walter and Mr Fenwick, he stopped, looked at the baronet, and moving the fingers of one hand, as of telling money into the other, said “this has done it—this has done it,” from which practice the Newcastle Burgeses call it PALM Sunday.

Can any one imagine it possible a man of Sir Walter's stamp, after such proceedings as these, should be able to get in himself, much less force in another; if he does, he must have a strange opinion of mankind, and a still stranger of the Newcastle Burgesses.

But more—Mr Ridley did not consider the burgesses (before Grenville's act, or a contest was thought on) had resolved, not only to refuse bribes, but even treats; and had entered that resolution into the public-books of their corporated companies,—a resolution, which if adhered to, will do them everlasting honour. He did not consider that by joining his son with Sir Walter, he tacitly made him acknowledge the coincidence with Sir Walter's proceedings and sentiments, and a desertion of his own former, and now popular principles, which made his quondam partisans suppose him only a temporary Whig; or else worse—a man of no principles at all.

He cowardly deserted one whole party, for only one half of another—time and facts had spoken him the abler senator of the two; and having acted with more caution than Sir Walter in the town moor affair, and other local differences between the magistrates and burgesses, he therefore was less unpopular, and might, with very little pains taking, have become still less so. He now seems to have been dubious of his own staff which might have supported him; and trusted to others, which has the greatest probability of failing.

C H A P. XIII.

HIS SON'S ABILITIES

ARE not so conspicuous as his own; nor do they promise ever to be so; yet his conduct in parliament was the least exceptionable of the three—this was an advantage, and being unconcerned with the corporation affairs, he had no prejudice against him,—he therefore had a clear road to run on, and no hills to ascend.

But

their leaders are measures, not men; they cannot expire: they invite and elect Mr Phipps, not because he is Mr Phipps, but because he has acted in the senate, for this six years past, as they think he ought; and Mr Delaval, from a firm belief he will do the same: They know Mr Phipps to be an ABLE senator, and no man, (not even a Tommy Noddy*) can say he is a DISHONEST one.

Mr Delaval's character stands as unimpeached, as a man; and any one may know it, by enquiring in the neighbourhood of his native place, where the suffrages of his inferiors in fortune, do him more honour than being graced with the highest titles which sovereignty itself could bestow.

C H A P. XV.

Mr C A R R,

THE ancient opponent of Sir Walter Blackett, was equally amiable in parts and private life with the baronet, though perhaps his inferior in fortune.

He had been, and was a staunch friend to the house of Hanover, and to support it, voted, as is before observed, for the erroneous, but fearful, and perhaps well-intended measures of the whigs;—septennial parliaments, and the general excise,—both were disagreeable to the people, and justly so too, and in consequence, lost Mr Carr his popularity.

Be it remembered,——Mr Carr gave Walker estate
to

* By this, the author must surely mean a dunce, or else a printer of one of the Newcastle news papers, and a perfect Faulkner in his way; only he is—not an alderman, though he has several for his subscribers. He is a staunch advocate for the Quebec bill, and a sworn foe to the Boston presbyterians; and says, the first does not make our king absolute monarch there, nor the other deserve any grace but what halters and bullets afford. He is also the editor of many valuable and celebrated works, among which are those of Jack the Giant-Killer—Interpretation of Dreams—Tom Hickathrift—Death and the Lady—with variety of blazing Stars—Signs Wonders—Murders—Love-Songs—Dying Speeches, &c. &c. all published—by authority.

to the BURGESSES of Newcastle, for which kindness, they, with the good Sir Walter's help, turned him out of his seat in parliament. Good Sir Walter seems inclined to preserve the rents of it solely in the hands of the burgesses' officers; and willing to add still more to their power by favouring their claim on the Town-moor; for which kindness some BURGESSES seem willing to continue him in his seat.

These sort of gentry would have made excellent Russian wives—beating there, being a proof of love.

C H A P. XVI.

Sir WALTER BLACKETT's *Popularity*

ROSE on the ruin of Mr Carr's: he was then supposed to be a well-wisher to short parliaments, and an opposer of additional taxes: the people knew such measures were conducive to their good, and as Sir Walter appeared a promoter of them, they dignified him with the title of PATRIOT. In canvassing for his second session of parliament, he openly made a merit of having in the first opposed the ministry in EVERY thing; railed as hard as any man could do against pensioners, and the pernicious attempts on the purse, and liberty of the subject by those in power, and—not having a taste for the polite arts, or the least turn for study, nor a mind sufficiently susceptible to relish the more sprightly and refined luxuries, of magnificence, which his fortune afforded ample power for displaying, nor yet parts sufficient to bustle through a court, and climb the heights of ambition; he could move in no other sphere than that of a plain country gentleman; so consecrated part of his revenue to the laudable purpose of assisting the reduced gentleman, and needy labourer: This encreased his popularity; and his unbounded liberality at the time of an election, raised it to a pitch beyond conception.

We find him adhering almost constantly to his rule of opposing the ministry, till the great change of both
men

men and measures, which happened soon after the accession of his present majesty.

In this change, we find the very relations of those concerned in the rebellion of fifteen and forty-five, and others, who then avowed themselves tories and jacobites, honoured with the smiles of royalty, and rewarded with posts of honour and trust.

It is rather foreign to the present purpose to enter into particulars on the king's attachment to such men and measures, nor of such men's attachment to him—they are sufficiently hinted at before to make the reader understand my opinion of the matter. To suppose he means to set the Pretender on the throne is repugnant to reason; and—to suppose he will seize like Cæsar on the liberty of the common wealth, is, I believe, out of his power: for—God be praised!—King George has not Cæsar's abilities.

'Twas not till this time that Sir Walter began to soften in his opposition,—yet being used so much to it, he was even so fortunately unfortunate, as to vote against the expulsion of the member elected by the majority of the freeholders of Middlesex; but going abroad soon after, he there was convinced, of his having, once again, voted constitutionally: but alas!—it was against a Tory ministry—this was a mortifying stroke to the senator, and that he might prove he did not do it intentionally in favour of the liberty of the subject, posted back to England as hard as he could, and spoke, or rather hummed out his recantation in the house, with mumbling and shrugging something about “he was very sorry—he was convinced he was in an error—he had changed his opinion; he begged pardon.”

What shall I call such a man?—let him name himself, while I reflect on his actions!

In the year 40, he acted as if he thought septennial parliaments wrong—in 74 as if they were right—at one time taxes are unupportable; at another, easy to be borne, though double to what they were—when ten pensioners drew salaries and sat in parliament only, legally to pick the people's pockets, by granting taxes;

'twas

'twas an evil——when twenty sit there for the same purpose; 'tis no evil at all——when rebellion, war, and a revolution was dreaded, the government was unworthy of support——when none is apparent, the rulers must have all they request.

What does all this prove?—but plainly that he either does not know what is good for his country, or it is no part of his concern; and that his former voting was only in opposition to the men then in power, and his present, only to please his old Tory principled friends in trust: It also farther proves Sir Walter to be a Tory in principles, and to have acted as such from first to last——that he is no friend to subjects, an advocate for arbitrary power; and that *his popularity rose only from three things—private alms—personal spite—and corrupting every virtue, public and private*, at an election——the first is due to every gentleman who does it——the next, a passion that disgraces any man, especially a senator—and the third——instead of popularity being its due, ought to be classed with buying of stolen goods; for—he who bribes, buys what the seller has no right to dispose of—the property of others, and the rights of posterity.

These! these!——and these only—are the great pillars of Sir Walter Blackett's popularity; strike them from under it, and it falls to that from whence it rose——to nothing.

Two facts need only to be considered by every conscientious voter, viz.—Whether Sir Walter is a tory or not—and whether the tory principles be such as have been represented?

If you say no to both, all I can answer is, that Sir Walter is not a tory; and to the other that I do not know what a tory is.

If you say yes to both——I then ask, are you a tory in principle? if you are, vote for him——if not? vote against him.

If you are a papist, nonjurer, or uncharitable high-churchman and well-wisher to absolute monarchy? you cannot vote against him consistent with your conscience.

If

If a consistent liberal-minded protestant of any denomination, and prefers the good of the many to the aggrandising of a few? you cannot consistent with your conscience principles, and interest, vote for him.

CHAP. XVII.

Sir WALTER and Mr RIDLEY

FOR some time before their junction was openly avowed had been thought to be on better terms than usual: and many of the burgessees thought and even felt the want of the wonted check which one used to have over the actions and interest of the other—Mr Ridley seemed to have a fore-thought which Sir Walter wanted; and in most proceedings relating the corporation, rather acted neutrally wherever he could than otherwise: and neither did as much hurt nor as much good, as he might have done.

The first difference between the magistrates and burgessees arose several years since, on account of a lease which the first had granted to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, of a carriage road over part of the town-moor from his own ground to a turnpike-way which led to town.

The burgessees thought he had a right to a bridle way, but not to break the soil and cast up materials for a carriage one—the magistrates and common-council thought they had a right to let and lease every thing, which belonged to the corporation—Sir Walter took their part.

This produced a law-suit—the burgessees by mismanagement or chicanery were cast; and as several, by subscribing towards the expence of the suit were out of pocket, they clamoured to have that money reimbursed out of the town's revenue—the magistrates would not allow that—bickerings ensued: actions on both sides began to be scanned with jealousy and ill-nature: and though only now and then, what

what the magistrates thought, an insignificant individual disturbed them on guild days, &c. there were still canker resting in the breasts of many others: the magistrates either did not or would not perceive this; so instead of mildly hearing the complaints, and answering or canvassing them with candour and openness, treated them in so haughty and insolent a manner as served only to irritate others and keep up the feud, by making the burgesses believe they neither had right nor power, to call any thing in question the magistrates chose to do.

Thus, things kept jarring on, till the necessity for petitioning his majesty for a dissolution of parliament travelled thither—the ministry and members had deservedly grown unpopular by their unconstitutional stretch of power, in expelling from amongst them the member which had been sent by the majority of the freeholders of Middlesex: it therefore found a number of partisans to support the measure.

A petition was accordingly presented at one of the guilds, ready drawn up, and desired to be read, and the question put—the magistrates, instead of humouring the motion, and trying to argue them calmly off the purpose, treated it with their wonted haughtiness, and insolence of office; with difficulty suffered it to be read:—the recorder branded it with high-treason; and Sir Walter went so far as to say, he thought the subject had not even a right to petition; and before he would either sign, or present such, *He would have his right hand cut off.*

This behaviour increased the discontent, and the motion finding numbers to support it, a meeting of the freemen and freeholders, for that purpose, was publicly desired at a tavern, and Mr Ridley was informed, that if he did not choose to countenance it himself, it was desired that his son, (then member for Morpeth) might have liberty to act for them. He seemed not pleased at the request, and refused both doing it himself, or suffering his son to do it.

On Mr Ridley's refusal, a messenger was dispatched to Seaton Delaval, the morning of the meeting, to request

quest the same favour of Sir Francis Delaval; he promised he would, and obligingly came immediately to the place of rendezvous, where he was requested to take the chair.

This rather alarmed the two members, and they thought proper to attend too: Sir Walter disavowed as before, either signing, or presenting it. Mr Ridley said, he could not think of signing it himself; and tho' they were injured in the resolution of the house of commons, in which, as a member himself, both spoke and voted against that injury, and acknowledged the subject had a right of petitioning; yet, he was afraid they would not be relieved by a dissolution of parliament, as, in all probability, the people would not get a better, and might get a worse; and farther, that he would act so far ministerially in it, as to present the petition to the throne.

The question was then put, whether Sir Francis or Mr Ridley should present; the shew of hands was in favour of Sir Francis, and accordingly he did present it, as his brother, Mr Thomas, one of the present candidates, afterwards did that of the remonstrance.

The political and magistratical conduct of both members began now to be severely scrutinized, and the magistrates, in general, began to grow very unpopular.

C H A P. XVIII.

THE TOWN MOOR.

SEVERAL years before this happened, a petition had been presented, when Sir Walter was mayor, from the burgesses to the magistrates, requesting a part of the Town moor to be inclosed, let, and cultivated; and the rent applied to the relief of the indigent freemen, and their widows. Sir Walter, in behalf of the magistrates, at that time, replied, that such a thing was not in their power, without an act for that purpose being first obtained.

But soon after the petitioning was over, it unfortunately

nately entered into the heads of some of the magistrates, to enclose, and let part of it, without the burgesses' consent, or entrusting them with the management, and drawing, and distributing the rent:—this made the freemen very uneasy, and almost unanimously, began openly to oppose what, a few years before, the magistrates themselves owned they could not legally do.

They, however, kept up their dignity, and treated every thing with contempt, which was done on the burgesses part—they enclosed, let, and the lessee built—the burgesses pulled down the house, demolished the fence, and set fire to the gates—Sir Walter abetted the magistrates—he grew unpopular, and was treated in such a manner as was very different to what he had been used to—this, instead of mending, made him more obstinate, and the more obstinate he grew, the more enraged grew the burgesses.

The burgesses acted another way with more propriety and moderation, though with equal spirit—they summoned meetings of the companies, subscribed money, and almost unanimously agreed to try the issue at law.

A committee was chosen for that purpose, and formal notice sent to the magistrates and lessee, that they meant to commit sufficient damage for them to ground an action of trespass on, if they thought it could be proved such, and several of the committee met and executed it, by pulling down part of the fence, and breaking a gate, on which the lessee (supported by the magistrates) commenced suit, then treaties were entered into, to accommodate matters, but nothing could be done in that way—the magistrates abated nothing of their claim, and seemed to wonder the burgesses should doubt in the least, their acting only for the good of the whole, and even asked, if they could suspect any of them wanting to share it themselves.

The burgesses, on their part, observed, that granting the magistrates then in office, were as honest and disinterested as they would wish themselves to be thought; yet, as they could not even entail their own private fortunes on their posterity for any time, how much more difficult was it to entail their virtues on their successors in office, and though they might safely answer for themselves, never abusing their trust, they could not do as much for those who might follow after.

Others alledged that such power falling into the hands of future magistrates, one or more, by having a large family, or numerous dependants, whom he or they might wish to provide for, easily let the inclosed part at an inconsiderable rent, on a long lease; which would be as good as a fortune, for a younger son or favourite scycophant—by which means, every part of the moor might be inclosed and granted to worthless individuals, and the poor freemen and their widows, stand entirely stripped of the **ONLY BENEFIT, THEY ENJOYED**, out of **TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS REVENUE, A YEAR**—the rest being swallowed up in offices.

Let us peep into futurity—and, for once—suppose the mayor of Newcastle, in the town-hall on a guild day, in the year 1800, or before—if your worships please—thus bespeaking the freemen,

“ Fellow Burgeſſes,

“ Our revenue having encreased this year above our
“ expence, the balance being two thousand pounds, now
“ lies in the treasurers hands, and the common council
“ waits your directions how to dispose of it.

“ Shall we apply it to the widening of our narrow
“ streets—the supplying the town with plenty of soft
“ palatable water—the support of our poor; or esta-
“ blishing and encouraging new branches of trade or
“ manufactures: by giving bounties on their produce to
“ the able and industrious?

“ Shall we divide it amongst ourselves, and let every
“ man use his share as most agreeable to himself?—Shall
“ we bestow it on our poor, maimed, and aged brethren,
“ ren, or their widows: whom neither vice nor intem-
“ perance have made so?—Shall we assist the sober, in-
“ dustrious young artist, who has made a good appren-
“ tice to his master, with a loan, *ſans* interest, for a
“ term: to enable him to set up a business he is very ca-
“ pable of following?—Shall we present it to our unfor-
“ tunate brothers in trade: to recover them from a
“ bankruptcy, which misfortunes or large families have
“ alone been the occasion of?—say—what shall we
“ do with it?—the money is yours—dispose of it as
“ you please!”

What would a *Tom White* say, if Sir Matthew Ridley was to make such a speech as this? and—*What should hinder Sir Matthew from making it?*

Should

Should *Tom* mutter—an alderman might then rise in behalf of his brethren in office, and say,

“ We are accused of embezzlement and self-interest ;
 “ it behoves us to notice the charge—let our accounts
 “ be strictly examined by every one who doubts—every
 “ particular is specified—if any one points out a deficiency, our private purse shall make it good—if how it
 “ may be better applied, he shall be heard, and his advice followed—if he thinks ’tis any profit or lucrative
 “ view, but the general welfare of the whole we are in
 “ trust for, that keeps us in office—I here lay down my
 “ gown, and pledge my honour in behalf of my brethren, that they will do the same—let those who are
 “ dissatisfied with our conduct, give them to our betters
 “ —we shall be glad to find our successors such—should
 “ they find themselves mistaken ? we will then re-assume
 “ the office, and serve you while we can do it to your
 “ satisfaction, and our own honour—we wish to serve
 “ only to benefit you, and honour ourselves—we are
 “ gentlemen—we want not money, and wish but for
 “ your applause.”

If *Tom* had muttered still ?—’tis much if some of the burgessees, instead of abetting, would not have turned him into a foot-ball, and kicked him down stairs.—But—
What should hinder an alderman from saying so now ? or me—from going on with my story ?

When things were brought to this pass, and all hopes of accommodating matters were over, they agreed it should be decided by law ; and Sir Walter promised it should be an AMICABLE suit.—But so far from that promise being kept, there was nothing spared which power, money, quirks, quibbles, and cunning could afford, to render it as hostile and oppressive as possible.

They retained Mr Dunning, the very man who had been employed as council by the burgessees, and had given his opinion in their favour : They did the same to ALL the senior council on the circuit, and acted as if their chiefest glory would have been to obtain a verdict, in spite of all honour, law, and equity.

The whole weight of the Town’s treasury was employed in crushing the rights and privileges of its freemen ; the rights and privileges it ought solely to have been employed to defend.—The very pulpit was pro-
 stituted

stituted to party purposes, and even in the face of a whole assize circuit; the sacred cushion was beaten to support the oppression of the widow; while, from above it, issued the most fetid effusions that ever pliant pluralist offered to the shrine of arbitrary power.

In this desperate situation were the burgesses, when they wrote to Mr George Greive, desiring him to ask the Bill of Right's influence with Serjeant Glynn to come and plead their cause: Mr Greive cheerfully undertook the task, and the Serjeant, on examining the merits of the case, as cheerfully complied with the request; and WELL! may Cæsar's expression be used here; "HE CAME—SAW—AND CONQUERED."

The magistrates could not say a word for themselves—with some trouble to the judge, and pains taking by the counsel, a juror was withdrawn, and a rule of court agreed on; by the magistrates dropping their pretensions and submitting to pay three hundred pounds costs, and also, that an act of parliament should be jointly solicited (at the corporations expence) to enable them to enclose, let, and the rent to be divided by the stewards of the respective companies, among their poor brethren and widows.

After such proceedings as these, most persons thought things would have gone more amicably on, and soon have brought the parties to a friendly understanding with each other——quite the contrary.

The magistrates, as usual, closeted themselves together, and, with all the LEARNED counsel the town afforded, set upon framing an act to their own mind, without ever deigning to consult the burgesses, or their committee, about the matter.—

They wanted to have the privilege of sinking pits, making way-leaves, erecting engines, &c. &c. for paying only three pounds an acre:—They wanted the security not to be valid, without being allowed so, by the town clerk, which would have put it in his power to let, or not let it, to whom he pleased,—to empower themselves to receive the rent, and to distribute it by the hands of the parish officers; to such persons only, as should have their names published in the news papers, by which the burgesses and their stewards abilities, of bestowing their own, were slighted, their rights trusted in the hands of non-freemen, and their poor, but unfortunate

tunate brethren and widows, put in a more disagreeable situation, by having their names so exposed, than the poorest pauper that ever drew six-pence from a parish to keep him from starving.

This act—thus framed—with such powers—sent express—without giving notice of its being sent—was introduced into the house of commons, and a committee appointed to examine and report it to the house; and that committee proved to be——Sir Walter Blackett, Sir Matthew White Ridley, Matthew Ridley, Esq; Counsellor Wallace, and Serjeant Glynn: Four to one, and three of that four the very persons who had been the burgessees greatest opponents in law, and the fourth a counsellor employed and feed, by the others, when on the circuit.

This intelligence, when buzzed abroad, raised the flame to greater height than ever: An act was drawn up, a petition signed by the burgessees, almost to a man, and both sent express to the house of commons, which joined with the justness of the cause and abilities of the Serjeant, defeated their mean attempts a second time—every one of the unreasonable powers before named, were expunged, and the management vested entirely in the burgessees.—It was ordered to be let in open guild—to the best bidder—security to be given—approved of by the majority present, and let in parcels not more than 100 acres at a time, and only on seven years lease;—then to be laid down to grass, and become common again.—The chamber clerk to draw and keep the rent till it amounts to 100 l. and then deliver it to the stewards of the companies, for them to divide it among their reduced brethren and widows.

This unaccountable oppressive perseverance in the magistrates, together with Sir Walter's and Mr Ridley's voting for, or being absent when most of the late unpopular acts were agitated in parliament, gave just and sufficient grounds for an attempt to turn both out of parliament.

Numbers of the burgessees thought the crown was aiming at being absolute, by using several means which they, as good citizens, were determined to prevent, if in their power; accordingly they drew up the following test articles, and engaged themselves not to give any man their votes or interest, who would not promise to use his endeavours,

I To make the house of commons acknowledge their error, in expelling a man from his seat, in defiance of the majority of freeholders, who had placed him there;—Because, such power takes away the right of **EVERY VOTER IN GREAT BRITAIN**:—for what signifies their sending, if the **HOUSE of COMMONS** must seat who they please?

II. To shorten the duration of parliaments;—That—the **VOTERS** may have an opportunity of changing their **REPRESENTATIVES** if they do not behave as **THEY OUGHT**.

III. To reduce the number of placemen and pensioners in the house of commons;—Because—to obtain them, and pay their salaries and pensions, they must tax the people's land, beer, soap, candles, leather, &c.

IV. To obtain a more equal representation of the people; because—several members represent themselves, rather than others—many boroughs have not **THIRTY** votes to **TWO MEMBERS**.—Old **SARUM** has but **ONE HOUSE**—yet has equal weight in the senate with either **Newcastle, Liverpool, or Bristol**—the whole body of **NEWCASTLE FREEHOLDERS**, and those of the city and **Ainsty** of **YORK** have not a vote **ANY WHERE**—yet all are equally independent, and chargeable with taxes like the rest of the kingdom.

These articles were offered to Sir Walter and Sir Matthew.——**BOTH** haughtily refused to sign, or even **PROMISE** they would **ENDEAVOUR**, to get them done, though they objected not to their reasonableness, and were promised support, if they did.

The burgeses on this, took it for granted, that such measures, as are here complained of, were approved of by the baronets, and as such would be, by them, supported in parliament.——They therefore summoned meetings of the companies, and sent an invitation to Capt. Phipps, who had voted against them, as far as he could, in the late parliament; and Mr Thomas Delaval, younger brother to the late Sir Francis, and proposed the articles for their acceptance:—They acknowledged their justness, and have solemnly promised, and signed, that if they are chosen, they will use their utmost **ENDEAVOURS** to put them in execution. If they neglect their promise—I hope the **BURGESES** will not neglect to——**REMEMBER IT FOR EVER**.

Sir

Sir Walter and his colleague were alarmed—canvassed the town with all the force of the gentry of the three counties in their train, before an express could arrive at the other candidates, to acquaint them with the burgesse nomination and promise of support.

The party, in this excursion, made use of the meanest of artifices to obtain promises—they said there would be no opposition, and voters might as well promise as not—a LYE so palpable, that their very asking proved that they *themselves*, thought it such—many were unwarily *entrapped*, and when the burgesse candidates arrived, they obtained all the support of those FOES to OPPRESSION, who had resolutely withstood the glare of lace—the fawns of self-interest—and all the LITTLE cringes of the GREAT.—With THOSE! who, conscious of being IMPOSED on, justly recanted, and resolutely said,—they NEVER *would* give a vote to a LYAR!

Both parties *appear* pretty well satisfied with their strength; are now rallying their forces, and this day* begin the general engagement.

May VICTORY crown the HONESTEST! and every man after it, SHAKE HANDS with his NEIGHBOUR, clap his hand on his breast, and conscientiously say—GOD BE MY JUDGE! I HAVE DONE AS I OUGHT.

Having now gone through facts, and stated them as well as we could, let us lay aside the philosopher, and take up the partisan, in order to see how these facts are managed by the scribbling troop on both sides; and, to prevent, as much as possible, the reader from sleeping, let us keep up the puff and poignancy which party zeal and spite always readily furnish every writer with, in favour or defence of—himself and friends.

Suppose Mr Saint's press teeming with ballads and news in favour of the magistrates' candidates;—an opposite partisan would in this manner represent it in

CHAP. XIX.

A TALE.

Newcastle upon Tyne, Oct. 11th.

A Muddy torrent having lately been observed trickling out from a printing-office in Pilgrim-street to several

ma-

* Tuesday, October 11, 1774.

magistratical doors; many well-meaning persons could not tell what to make of it; yet, prompted by curiosity, naturally desired to know its nature and use—if it had any.—A whim-bitten younker egged on by the same passion, began to explore its contents, and found it consisted principally of *ale-barrel bottoms*, mixed with *washings of ink-stands*, † *lamp-black*, and *oil*, rendered still more confused by several pieces of the *Newcastle Courant*, which had been used over the bung holes (after the exciseman had done with it) to preserve the wretched compound from the injuries which a free circulation of air naturally has on all weak fermented liquids.

He filled as much as a moderate man's skull would hold into his hat, and walked home, hoping to have as much pleasure in separating the jumbled materials as some men can possibly enjoy in following the doublings of a hare, or preserving of partridges.

He was not deceived—for after examining with herculean—herculean, no!—with a *herculaneumean* labour, (for it was all *rubbish* and *darkness*) he found among the lamentations of an *expiring thief-catcher*, the following hints scattered, which, with the help of the comments and notes may possibly bring them within the limits of the common sense of the commons of Great-Britain; and enable the HONEST burgesses of Newcastle to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the measures they have, and are now pursuing.

C H A P. XX.

What says Mr SAINT?

THAT—"Sir Walter Calverly Blackett is a very good-hearted, humane, benevolent christian, and very charitable."

Granted—so was my grandmother.

That—"he is very liberal, and so careless of money, that he gives hundreds away in a week."

Granted—the last contested election proves it.

That—"he values it as nothing, but as it tends to the well-being of society."

Scratch the last out,—grant us faith—or keep our muscles smooth,—holy Saint! we beseech thee.

That

† Allusion to the scribbling opponents.

That—"he is independent."

Granted—for he is not worth pensioning.

That—"he might have a peerage."

It is not too late yet.

That—"it has been his constant attention to do this town service."

Ho! Diogenes!—lend me thy lanthorn.

That—"he has despised the instructions of his constituents."

Granted.

That—"if he had obeyed them he would have been a slave."

By not obeying them he shewed he was their absolute master;—a medium was only wanted that of a **SERVANT**;—if not content with the service, why does he solicit the place, and then refuse to do the duty? And what has the law allowed members of parliament wages for?—Should servants never reckon with their masters, nor obey their reasonable commands?

That—"he did not think theirs was reasonable."

His constituents did.

That—"that was no reason why he should."

Granted—but it is a good reason why those constituents should elect others who do think them so.

That—"the freemen ought to be grateful."

For sending him forty-two years to parliament without a contest,—for his kindness in saving them the trouble of nominating Sir Matthew Ridley to accompany him for seven years longer,—for peaceably suffering the magistrates to divide **EIGHTEEN THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR** for **FORTY YEARS** together, among their own creatures,—for refusing to lend them their own hall, for draining their private pockets in an unequitable law suit,—for robbing them of the **Town-moor**,—for—

"Hold! hold!" cries *Mr Mulligrub*—"he did not rob them of the **Town-moor**."

Granted—

That—"he did not even attempt to **ROB** them of it."

Hold!—'tis upon record.

"He only attempted to **TAKE** it from them."

O!—now I have it;—what the plague do people call **ILLEGALLY TAKING** another person's property in this country?

E

That

That—"he did it with a good intention, and thought he was acting right."

Feeling ALL the counsel proves this,—and that he believed his attempt not only **LEGAL**, but **EQUITABLE** too.

That—"he did not NEED the Town-moor."

Granted.

That—"he did not WANT it for himself."

Granted.

That—"he did not WANT it for others."

What the devil DID he want to do with it?

"Nothing, but to give it to the poor."

In spirit,—perhaps?

—'No!—the poor in purse, and the very poor the stewards are now to give it to.'

'Twas very kind, very kind indeed!—to give the poor things a shiver of their own loaf;—but what made him oppose the stewards having the distribution of it, so violently in the house of parliament?

"Hum!"

Hum! indeed—had they been hummed out of their right.

"—'Twas only an error in law."

In LAW!—Equity, where art thou?—Still, still! I would if I could—

"Tut! a trifle!"

Boys and frogs.

"Any man might have erred in law."

Granted—but in EQUITY—the DEVIL!

That—"the freemen have lost by the gain, as the magistrates' right to the soil is established, which before was dubious."

That is denied;—but supposing so, it shews the tendency of your wishes, and your unparalleled impudence to brag of it.

TRUTH CONQUERS ALL THINGS.

EXcepting ETERNITY and OBSTINACY;—let us therefore hear what the ETERNALLY OBSTINATE say farther.

That—"the hon. Constantine John Phipps is a captain in the navy, and has been a voyage to the north."

Granted—two or three too many for some folk's ease.

That—" he lost his masts and hawser."

Granted—and so has many a brave sailor, and kept the deck too,—when a quill-flitting pedant, or groper of ale-barrels, would rather have been cooped up in an empty cask, and rolled down the side.

That—" he there lost one of his anchors."

Granted—but the other has laid special hold on the banks of the Tyne.

That—" he has fought against the Spaniards, and heard the bullets whistle about his ears."

Granted—some men would rather have been in bed at Wallington and Blagdon, than have danced to such music.

That—" he is a placeman."

Granted—but not governor of Dunstanburgh castle.

That—" he is a pensioner."

He indeed draws his wages for defending his country,—what are you paid for?

That—" he is dependent on the King"

For preferment—and so are you too.

That—" he may hinder him from being an admiral."

And you from being a justice of the peace.

That—" he may turn him off at pleasure."

A LYE !—and YOU know it too,—every officer in the army and navy hold their commissions as property by LAWS, not at the pleasure of the KING :—They are not like excisemen and custom-house officers.

But—" if he infringes those laws he may be turned out."

Granted—by the judgment of his peers ; and you may be both turned in, turned out, and turned off too,—by the same force, and Jack Catch's help.

That—" he may be ordered away in time of peace."

He need not except he pleases—enow will go in his stead.

That—" he must go when a war comes."

Granted—for none of the aldermen will go in his place, but several think he should take a baker's dozen with him, to stuff the quarter-deck netting in the time of an engagement.

That—" he may chance to have his head shot off."

Heaven forbid !—Ah ! how safe may some folks stand, who have no heads to shoot off.

That—" he may then neglect our business in parliament."

Ay !—like enough—by protecting our colliers on the coast, and our ships in the Baltic.

That

That—"he may be fighting the French at a distance."
 God send he may, say I, and keep them there too;
 it will be much better than letting them come here,
 and terrifying the *aldermen* to crawl down from the back
 balcony of the *town hall*, jumping into *keels*, and cross-
 ing the *Tyne* at a *guinea* a head.

That—"we may then have an other Boston-port, or
 Quebec bill passed, or the soil of the Town-moor fixed
 in the claws of the magistrates, and nobody to oppose
 them."

Not except Mr Delaval should plead late hours, or
 want of health for not staying to oppose it.

That—"he has committed a blunder"

Possibly—but I think it was farther off than the
 town moor.

That—"He is an orator and wit"

A great misfortune!—for, fore-george!—it will
 bar him eternally for being made an alderman of New-
 castle.

"Will not an honest man serve your turn?"

Yes—what objections have you to an *able*, honest
 one?

CHAPTER XXII.

Every man thinks his own Geese. SWANS.

THEN what do those think? who say, that—"Sir
 Matthew White Ridley is a young baronet"

Granted,

That—"he is an amiable man"

The ladies must judge of that—'tis their province.

That—"his parliamentary conduct has been unexcep-
 tionable."

So!—it seems somebody's else has not!

That—"he left Morpeth because he would not submit
 to be the dupe of lordly power."

Ah! reynard!—those grapes are sour—a pretty
 compliment however to the burgessees of Morpeth—
 'ti, their business to mind it.

That—"he is cool and steady"

Shy, and pretty stiff, I grant you.

—"manly"—

I hope so, or woe betide his wife when he gets her.

—"And a senator"—

By

By chance!

That—"that is more than can be said of Capt. Phipps."

Do you really think so?—Ask Sir Walter Calverly Blackett, baronet—Sir Matthew White Ridley, baronet, and Matthew Ridley, Esq;—how he behaved when he spoke in the house of commons for the act against BRIBERY—against the expulsion of the LEGAL member for Middlesex, and against the lord mayor being sent to the tower for EXECUTING the LAWS impartially—on the COVENTRY navigation and ASSAY bills—against making K. Geo. as arbitrary over the lives and properties of the people of Quebec, as the king of France or Spain is over any part of their dominions—against shutting up the port of Boston, and ruining our own trade, and sending a Papist governor with ten or twelve regiments of well-meaning brave soldiers, under his command, to cut the throats of their fellow subjects, or have their own cut by them, which ever happens to be the stronger—and when you have got their answer; ask them what they did or said on those occasions?

That—"wits are but clogs on business in the house of commons" (he perhaps means the common-council) "and are like cantharides."

Clogs are useful for *trespassing* brutes—and as for cantharides, they are an excellent remedy for stimulating the fibres of the body, to perform their functions as they ought, by means of a blister.

C H A P. XXIII.

COMPARISONS *are* ODIOUS.

YET master T O M M Y further sayeth—That—there is a great deal of difference between Sir Walter Blackett and Capt. Phipps—in their height, near half an inch; in their ages, several years.

Between—the son of a Yorkshire knight, and the grandson of the dukes of Buckingham.

Between—the adopted son of a Newcastle knight, and nephew to the Earl of Bristol.

Between—a Northumberland baronet, and the eldest son of Lord Mulgrave.

Bq.

Between—having a sober walk in the gardens at Mulgrave Castle, and getting drunk in the cellars at Wallington.

Between—being owner of a lead groove at Aldston and paying no dues—and being proprietors of the allum works near Whitby, and taking, every year, eight or ten ship loads of coals out of our own port.

Between—being commander of a coach and six, and captain of a man of war.

Between—the owner of a pack dogs, and the leader of a crew of brave British sailors.

Between—a preserver of partridges and persecutor of his neighbours; and a defender of his country, and friend to the liberty of the subject.

Between—a killer of moor-game, and a shooter of the French.

Between—nothing and something—and in all these is very right.

C H A P. XXIV.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

THAT—" Captain Phipps and Mr Delaval are two strangers."

Very strange, indeed—the one born almost ten miles off—the other known by every body who sits in the house of commons.

That—" they are no freemen."

No more was Sir Walter, the recorder, and town-clerk, till—made such.

That—" if the burgeses had a mind to change their members, they should have chose some neighbouring gentlemen."

Alas! that was not their fault—the day was fine; yet, for fear of spoiling their laced waistcoats by a shower, they all run under *the trees** for shelter.

That—" some people meddle with what, prudence might direct them to be quiet in."

Does this mean the *rattle-brained* fellow in Newgate-street, or the *tatter-brained* pedant in Pilgrim-street?—if it does—the first may be cured of his talking, by cutting out his tongue, and of his writing, by lopping off his

* The name of Sir Walter's house in Newcastle.

his hands: and the other of his *latin-scrap-scrawling* and *logic-chopping* too, by making him——an alderman.

To be ferious—an election of representatives concerns every man from *John-o-Groat's* house to *Landsend*.—He who does not think, is a fool;—he who does think, and dare not act according to his thoughts, is both slave and coward;—and he who will not, both knave and hypocrite:—these and turn-coats should always be contemned by men of a liberal turn; the one for not opposing the unjust principles of others;—the other, for having no just ones of their own: but, like yelping curs, bark loud at a passenger, till a stick is lifted up, and then shrinking at their well-deserved danger, clap their tails between their legs, and skulk even into a *dung-hill* shelter——and the infernal Gazette, published by authority, says,

Banks of the Styx, Oct. 2, 1774.—“ By the ghost of
“ an honest shoe-maker, lately arrived here from New-
“ castle, in his way to the Elysian Fields, we are credi-
“ bly informed, that we need not expect the concurrence
“ of souls usually sent below at a general election.——
“ In consequence of which, Charon began to grow
“ most confoundedly, and set all hell in an uproar; but
“ Pluto has pretty well appeased the disturbance, by as-
“ suring him he shall have double fare of the *turn-coats*,
“ who may chance to hang themselves, and accordingly
“ has ordered Minos, as soon as they arrive, to make
“ them *close-stool keepers* for all hell; and to stand ready
“ with scraps of the *Courant* to do the needful for both
“ parties, whom time, or accident, may hereafter send
“ thither.”

That——“ Mr Delaval was an Hambrough merchant.”

Granted—but he never kept shop on the Sandhill—nor would that have disgraced him, but in the opinion of such writers and readers as buzz, and believe what they're told by every jack in office.

By being such, he is more able to cope with the Dutch interest in parliament, and take care of the Holland trade—had he not been one, and a principal one too, the whole body of English merchants,—a character I revere—would not have appointed him to present their address to the QUEEN of Great-Britain, when first coming over to England.

That——“ that neither Mr Phipps nor Mr Delaval have the least chance of being members for Newcastle.”

Hush!

Hush! be quiet or—people will not believe you.”

That—“ nothing but a surgeon, sailor, and glazier, are the leaders, and are not able to do any thing.”

Hush! once more—never run down the prowess of your foes, if you mean to get honour by the victory—what a figure will this cut, **SHOULD** the **LACED WAISTCOATS** be beaten by the **LEATHER APRONS**.

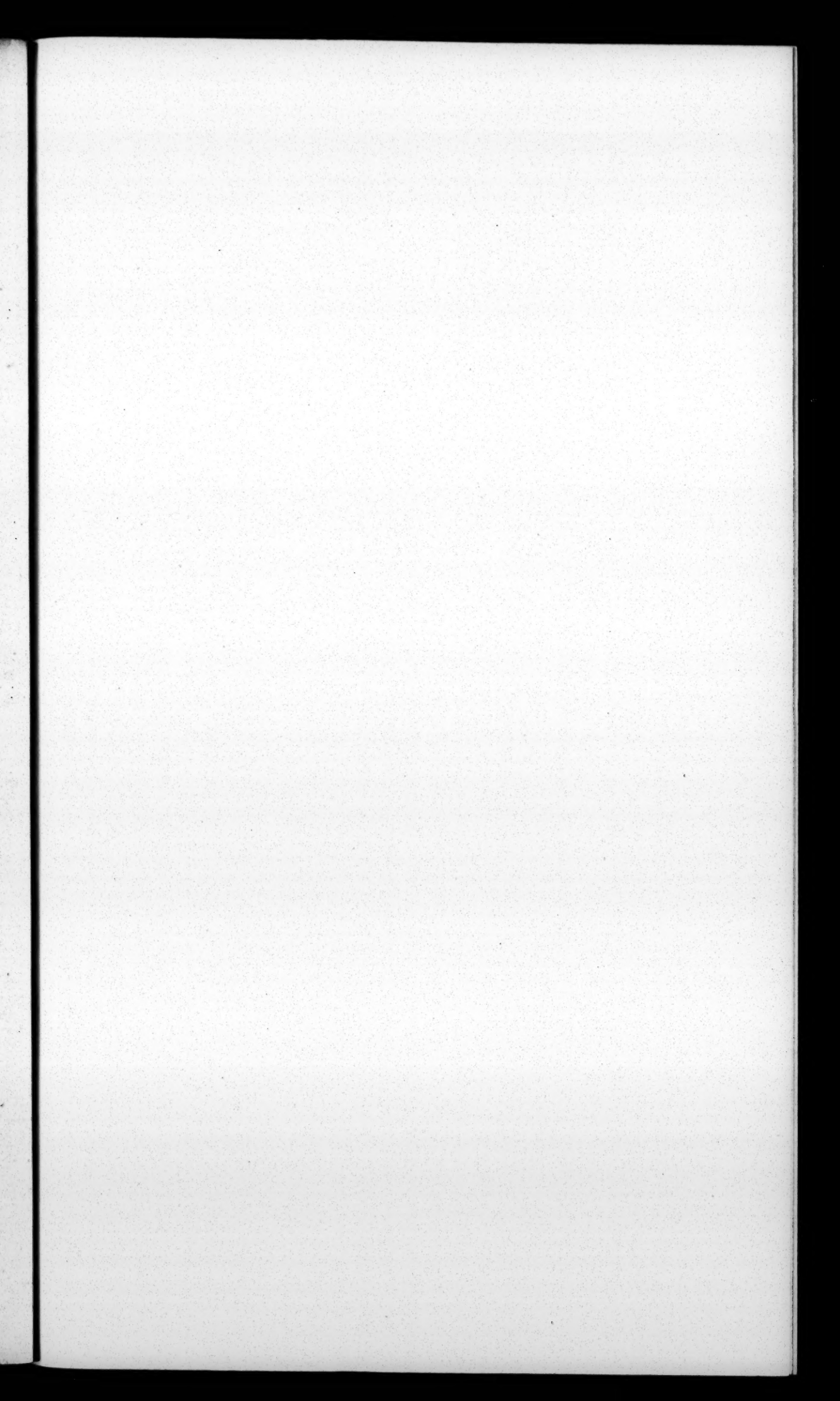
C H A P. XXV.

The last and longest of all.

O U R E N D.



N. B. *The POLL, as soon as closed, will be printed, to
stitch up with this PAMPHLET.*



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